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Messages from Hiroshima — Page three

# ORDERED TO KILL GOVERNOR OF CYPRUS

*Top marks for essay  
on Civil Disobedience*

## Lorry driver won't go to H-plant again

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A BIOGRAPHY of Mahatma Gandhi was one of the first books sold from the literature stall set up last week outside Britain's H-bomb plant at Aldermaston as part of the nine-week picket organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

By last Saturday a number of friendly contacts had been made with people working at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment.

One lorry driver, delivering supplies from the North of England, said that he would refuse to bring another load to the plant—even if it meant losing his job.

On duty outside Aldermaston when I went down there on Saturday was:

Roy Fry, 21-year-old London bricklayer and member of International Voluntary Service, who had recently returned to England after working with other peace service volunteers in France on the repair of an irrigation system ruined by last year's floods. He had refused military service and was expecting to go to prison in the near future.

Further down the road, at another entrance, were ex-National Servicemen James Brow and Robin Palmer. They had both had their interest aroused in the subject of nuclear weapons by the Aldermaston March.

James Brow, who had just completed his first year at Oxford studying history, and had completed his National Service, said he found "Defence in the Nuclear Age,"

## Man with bomb now conscientious objector

From a correspondent

NOT many months ago a young man was ordered by Eoka to take a bomb to a cinema in order to kill the Governor of Cyprus. Because of his decisions and actions since that time, that man is today completing two years conditional employment as ordered by a British Tribunal for conscientious objectors.

Paul (his real name cannot be disclosed for reasons of security) joined Eoka because it seemed to him to be the right thing to do. He did not reason about it very much, except in terms of "other people are joining; I don't want to be left out."

Though the actual joining may have been half-hearted, his efforts weren't. He did very well on the few small tasks he was given, and Eoka made him a leader. He had a small group of men serving with him.

He was tough and efficient, and so Eoka gave him more important work. They sent him out to kill.

**He was given orders to take a time-bomb to a place which the Governor of Cyprus was visiting.**

It was at this point that Paul began to reason. He did not want to take life. His previous jobs had not incurred the taking of life. He did not want to do work of this nature.

## POLICE PHOTOS DESTROYED AFTER PROTESTS

PHOTOGRAPHS taken by the police of people who joined in the coast-to-coast march against nuclear weapons last month have been destroyed.

But only, Peace News understands, after a special meeting to demand that the Salford Watch Committee ask for this to be done had been called by the local Labour Party.

An earlier request was turned down by the Watch Committee by five votes to two. In a protest in the House of Commons



*Extracts from 16-year-old Californian schoolgirl Kathryn Larson's essay appear on page six.*

attacks were made on his life by other Eoka members.

**"I wanted to stop killing," he said, and this became his main purpose, causing him eventually to leave the island.**

Questioned about his conscientious objection to serving with the armed forces, Paul pointed out that his past life must surely prove that he was not a suitable person to train to take life. He could not think of a reason why the taking of life was wrong, but he felt this strongly.

"Some people may say that I have not the guts," he said, shrugging his wide shoulders. "I do not know. I do not want to kill. At all."

Emphatically, he went on, "I do not want to have anything to do with the armed



and after working with other peace service volunteers in France on the repair of an irrigation system ruined by last year's floods. He had refused military service and was expecting to go to prison in the near future.

Further down the road, at another entrance, were ex-National Servicemen James Brow and Robin Palmer. They had both had their interest aroused in the subject of nuclear weapons by the Aldermaston March.

James Brow, who had just completed his first year at Oxford studying history, and had completed his National Service, said he found "Defence in the Nuclear Age," King Hall's book, "first class."

Neither he nor Robin Palmer—employed at the Esquire record factory in London—thought that enough study of non-violent resistance was being undertaken.

### Discussion Series

In addition to all the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's pamphlets, the literature stall displays copies of Albert Schweitzer's broadcasts; "Deterrence and Retaliation or Christianity," by Percy Bartlett; and "Which Way to Freedom," by Gene Sharp.

"The local vicar is hoping to arrange for us to join in a discussion with his parishioners," April Carter, the DAC Secretary, told me.

"Everyone is friendly. The village postmaster is most helpful. The innkeeper has told us we can use his field at any time for open-air meetings."

On August 10 the Rev. Michael Scott, a member of the Direct Action Committee, is to open a series of discussions for participants from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. at the camp site by Pamber Heath Post Office.

He will be speaking on the theory and practice of non-violent resistance.

Subjects for discussion on following weeks include: the use of publicity and propaganda media; analysis of direct action projects in the USA and France and their relevance to the British campaign; the implications of civil disobedience in a democracy; the possibilities and implications of revenue refusal.

The camp site is reached by No. 9 or 9a buses from Reading Station, leaving at 20 minutes past the hour from 10.20 a.m. on Sundays, with earlier buses on weekdays.

Local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Groups are giving invaluable help and are co-operating closely in organising local leaflet distribution. A special leaflet for distribution in the villages has been prepared.

## PROTESTS

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In a protest in the House of Commons on July 17, Frank Allaun, MP, asked if the Home Office were aware that photos had been taken in Bradford, Middlesbrough, Warrington and other towns besides Salford.

"Will the Minister tell the House the purpose of these photographs; and, since this appears to be an interference with civil liberties on a national scale, will he seek Parliamentary powers to stop it?"

Mr. Renton, Joint Under-Secretary, replied by pointing out that the Home Office could not answer for the provincial police.

Referring to the "disquiet in various parts of the country" at the activities of police photographers, Mr. Anthony Greenwood asked the Joint Under-Secretary to the Home Department to consider discussing the question at the next conference with chief constables.

## REASSURING?

DESPITE the fact that on June 25 The Times reported Dr. Windle Taylor, director of water examination at the Metropolitan Water Board, as saying that insufficient attention had been paid to the danger of contamination of water supplies by radio-active substances, the Medical Officer of Health for Hornsey (Middlesex) sent the following reply on July 16 to an enquiry from a local resident, Mrs. D. H. Barasi:

"I can assure you . . . that the water supply to the London area is under constant review by Dr. Windle Taylor. I have known him personally for a number of years, see him at regular intervals, and only recently visited his laboratories in Finsbury and learned from him of the highly technical methods in use for the detection of radio-active contents. In addition I would remind you of the assurance given to the Borough Council in correspondence dating from Jan. 14 last."

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It was at this point that Paul began to reason. He did not want to take life. His previous jobs had not incurred the taking of life. He did not want to do work of this nature.

### Did not want to kill

"But I could not refuse this order," he said to a Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors. He was a member, the order was there. Where was there a way out?

"I got a time bomb," he said, "and went to a cinema where the Governor was going."

"But I put the bomb at the wrong time. I did not want to kill anybody."

Whilst he was going to make his escape, the British police came and arrested him. He was punished for his activities with Eoka, but Eoka no longer had his sympathies, and Eoka no longer trusted him. He was doubly punished, therefore. Two

## NON-VIOLENCE URGED IN PEACE CONGRESS

ADVOCATES of non-violent methods of opposing the forces that are leading the world towards war found more responsive listeners among the delegates to the Stockholm Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation than most of them had dared to hope for.

Though it would be misleading to suggest that the presence of pacifists among the "peace-fighters" made a serious difference to the tone of this Congress, it did make itself felt in every commission, and particularly in those informal gatherings on the fringe of the official meetings, which offered excellent opportunities for missionary zeal.

Early in the proceedings Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, cousin of the Indian Prime Minister, called on those attending the Congress to search their hearts and cultivate faith in non-violence. "Our way of thinking and living, particularly living with others, needs a change," she asserted. "Violence in thought, word and deed has got to be discarded. In all spheres of public life all means for the attainment of

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"Some people may say that I have not the guts," he said, shrugging his wide shoulders. "I do not know. I do not want to kill. At all."

Emphatically, he went on, "I do not want to have anything to do with the armed forces."

"I do not want to be near anyone who is taking life."

Paul said that when he came to Britain there had not been any reward for his decisions and actions. He had not expected anything, but he wished it known that he did not manoeuvre the incident in Cyprus for monetary or other gain. To the contrary, he had been in danger frequently and life was complex for him.

The Chairman of the Tribunal closed the hearing by saying that Paul's was a very remarkable history, which had the stamp of truth on it. Paul had shown that in actual fact he would not take life, and this exempted him from military service.

our objectives must be non-violent.

"A bright example of the success of non-violence is the way in which India wrested her independence from the powerful British Empire. Without shedding a drop of blood, India became free by the development and use of soul-force and by peaceful

## RALPH PARKER

### Reports from Stockholm

negotiations and mutual agreement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We secured the friendship of the great British people as a result.

**"Let us not think that non-violence is a weapon for the weak. On the contrary, non-violence needs much greater courage and strength to suffer than does violence."**

"Our leader Mahatma Gandhi used to say that it is only the strong man who can be truly non-violent. In India we found that the martial races of the land—the

● ON BACK PAGE



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# CIVIL DEFENCE

For

Against

*In our correspondence columns of July 18 we published a letter from Miss D. Harvey in which she argued that pacifists should take an active interest in Civil Defence. Commenting on her letter in our editorial columns we asked for articles on the subject. We have so far received two which we publish below. One is from Miss Harvey. The other is from Mr. Harry Davies, who was actively concerned with Civil Defence during and just after the war.*

**REPLYING** to your columnist on Civil Defence, the writer does not agree that since the last war the basic situation has changed.

Horrible as the effects of the H-bomb might be, no position would arise where organised help was not a possibility and an elementary necessity "to relieve suffering and save lives."

A "candid statement of the probable character of the threat to be dealt with" is asked for, but at this late date does one have to describe anew the H-bomb and its effects? This is old history. And as to the "explanation of the measures to be taken," anybody who cares to join CD will learn of these in detail.

The writer is surprised that so much ignorance is professed of facts that are already in print. CD itself no longer has to consider whether it is a good thing to be in existence, the matter has been looked at and a position taken, than which nothing could be more "objective."

CD methods are constantly being reviewed and improved upon, and its members are sufficiently convinced of their usefulness to be able to stand up to criticism, though the phrase "an empty facade" certainly produced its reaction—a spontaneous and hearty laugh. Nevertheless, CD could certainly do with a larger allocation of money and hopes to procure it.

## Virtue carried to excess

An average individual recently told the writer that he did not believe the H-bomb was as bad as it was painted—and yet it has been confirmed that this bomb is at least 500 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb, itself equal to 20,000 tons of TNT, on which bomb, because it has actually been experienced, numerous articles and pictures, books, films and radio features have been put out, giving the most graphic description of what the effect then was. If that did not rouse people, will anything? In the simplest CD pamphlet, freely available, a diagram gives the extent of the damage to be expected from an H-bomb, and its hazards; it also sets out the help

**ACCEPT** without qualification that Miss Harvey is motivated in her concern to do as much as she can for the unfortunate victims of an H-bomb attack.

I can also appreciate that members of a Civil Defence Unit are acquainted with the "facts" of what may happen in the event of a nuclear attack. Indeed, I sympathise with her in the struggle of her conscience. However, there is an affiliation between the armed services and the Civil Defence that destroys the morality of her good intent.

The "Fourth Arm" which entitles its members to parade with the other Services is one so closely linked with defence that at one period during the last war it was almost an accomplished fact that members of the Fire Service were sent overseas.

During the last war I was a member of the National Fire Service, indeed, I had joined it in the early days of 1937, and I served for nearly six years as a whole-time fireman, finally becoming Section Leader and operated in the capacity as Training Officer. I knew the blitzes of the Midlands, of the Merseyside and of the Coast.

## Memories of destruction

I, too, felt that when the call came to rejoin the Civil Defence Services, that such experience as I had had would not only stand me in good stead, but also because of my experiences that I would be able to help. By this time, of course, evidence of what the atom bomb had done in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was used to illustrate the difference in the new "techniques" to be adopted.

I attended my first lecture. The instructor was clear, concise and conscientiously doing his best, with what he had. His intentions, like Miss Harvey's, were to advise us on the problem before us.

As he progressed with his talk, and as he passed around pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I remembered a street in Bootle with devastation strewn in all directions, I remembered the fact that the water was unfit to drink, that when ultimately the Queen's Messengers (those mobile canteens)

attend any more lectures on the atom bomb for some time) I decided that I might have been somewhat critical of the problem, and I decided to start all over again. After all, perhaps the fault was with me.

Almost identically the same conviction came upon me—if I, in some way could do anything to prevent this happening then it was my bounden duty to do—whatever it was. I tried to see beyond the power of politics, behind the differences which were supposed to exist, instead of studying what to do afterwards—I was aware that something should be done before.

## Combatting evil with evil

I turned to studying how our enlightenment had been obtained at the expense of other peoples servility, and agreed with the philosophy of Schweitzer and Russell on the fact that (and this is my interpretation) our similarities are greater than our differences, that is to say, more numerous.

It is not with the idea of instructing Miss Harvey that I have written, but rather in an attempt to understand her attitude to the problem. I have, in probably an indefinite manner, shown (I hope) that she is not alone in her convictions, also that the injured and the dying minds of morally responsible people, i.e., governments think in their delirium of the past glories of war and attempt to equate human fortitude with the Incarnation itself, and would suppose that the only way to sustain life is to combat this or that evil with the greatest evil of all—the H-bomb.

**H. DAVIES**

## Guidance for the flock?

FROM a Church of England parish Magazine advertisement: "Young people living in the Stevenage area have the opportunity—if their enthusiasm and ability fits them to take it—of joining one of Britain's most important and progressive industrial organisations. The Guided Weapons Divi-



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Some Problems of the Atomic Age	3s. 6d. (4d.)
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Through an error, partly the writer's, a sentence in her original letter was misquoted, and should read: "People are not so much ill-informed as that they will not face the moral issue." This is her belief and, she sees, that of PN, but it is no reason for abandoning helpful activities.

In view of possible discussion, it might be useful to consider the saying, applicable to all, that virtue carried to excess becomes a vice, and to examine the nature of conscience. While "disarmament at all costs" seems in some quarters to be in the air, it should be borne in mind that pacifism based on fear must defeat its own ends, and is, in fact, a contradiction in terms.

**D. HARVEY**

## LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY LTD. NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

During the recognised holiday months in Great Britain it is as well that members of the London Co-operative Society should be aware of the National Membership Scheme that is in operation throughout the country. In almost every town throughout Great Britain there is a Co-operative Society and the National Membership Scheme enables visiting members to receive dividend on purchases at most of them.

Wherever our members go, seaside, town or country, the L.C.S. share number should be quoted with the prefix "L." The local Society then arrange for such purchases to be transferred to the London Society, and the current rate of Dividend of your Society will be paid.

the difference in the new "techniques" to be adopted.

I attended my first lecture. The instructor was clear, concise and conscientiously doing his best, with what he had. His intentions, like Miss Harvey's, were to advise us on the problem before us.

As he progressed with his talk, and as he passed around pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I remembered a street in Bootle with devastation strewn in all directions, I remembered the fact that the water was unfit to drink, that when ultimately the Queen's Messengers (those mobile canteens) arrived the first consideration was for the children, the mothers, and the aged. They made a long unending column of people, subjected to attack for so long that they were dazed and hypnotised, their movements mechanical as they propelled themselves towards this oasis in the middle of the town.

I remembered the small boy in pyjamas, who as if by a miracle had been standing on the top of a staircase, which now stood out like an island in a sea of flame. Clutching a Teddy bear, he stood there dreamily rubbing his tired eyes, whilst around him was the debris of his former home—and his parents?

### Studying what to do

I also remembered that even after two years of war, and incidentally four years of "preparation," those in control of our destinies had not allowed for the fact that the hydrants in the North were different from our own.

Realising to some extent that what I had witnessed during these years bore no relation to the devastation of Hamburg and Bremen, I tried to comprehend the horror that had been Nagasaki or Hiroshima, the brilliance of a man-made sun that could still leave the shadow of a man silhouetted on the ground.

After some weeks (incidentally, I did not

in their delirium of the past glories of war and attempt to equate human fortitude with the Incarnation itself, and would suppose that the only way to sustain life is to combat this or that evil with the greatest evil of all—the H-bomb.

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### RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

#### The Incurable Bishop

Peace News readers will be familiar with the 'ar-like statements of Dr. C. M. Chavasse, Bishop of Rochester, at the recent jubilee services of the Territorial Army.

In April, 1943, the Bishop said "The most religious body of Englishment today is the Eighth Army."

The Bishop of Rochester is an authority on the spiritual condition of the Christian Church. During the war he preferred the Eighth Army. He should know.

Write for literature of the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ to:

Wallace Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.



# HIROSHIMA

PEACE NEWS—August 1, 1958—3

## My visit to Japan

*The following is taken from a talk delivered by Dr. Soper at a meeting sponsored by the Methodist Peace Fellowship, and held in connection with the Methodist Conference:*

**I** HAVE recently visited Japan: I visited Hiroshima. It was a shock to discover the rebuilt city, for like the Bourbons they have forgotten nothing and learnt nothing. There are the same brothels, the same caste divisions with ditches dug between, there are the same houses of paper and wood.

"A learned Japanese said to me, 'Wherever you set your foot on the soil of Japan you are walking on wood ash.' I very quickly came to see what he meant. Every one of the great cities of Japan was razed to the ground by incendiary bombs. Two hundred and fifty thousand people were roasted to death in one incendiary raid. It would have been more merciful if they had lived in Hiroshima.

"They laid a circle of fire round Yokahama and the consequence was that 125,000 people were asphyxiated by a curious and natural phenomenon known in forest fires: the oxygen gave out over a wide area. Those who were not actually burned were strangled in their throats.

"Of course, the American and British and Commonwealth airmen would not know that. As they dropped their napalm bomb to them it would appear as a bright flower-like bloom with a white encirclement. But if by some strange alchemy they had been able to go down with the bomb and see its dreadful effects they would never have done it again."

## Rumours of wars



**IT** is encouraging to know that, in a crisis, pacifists can always be relied upon to rally to the cause. In spite of very short notice, they turned out for the poster parade to Hyde Park on July 20 to carry their message of "War—We Say No"

through the streets of London and to support their speakers on the green behind

## A TRAGEDY THAT WAS—AND ITS MESSAGE FOR NOW Thirteen years after

By KIYOSHI TANIMOTO

*The writer is minister of the Nagaregawa United Church of Christ in Hiroshima, Japan, and a member of the Japanese Fellowship of Reconciliation.*

**THE** thirteenth anniversary of the Hiroshima disaster is now approaching. It is the anniversary of an unprecedented experience in the history of mankind, in which an entirely new and intensely powerful weapon was used for the first time.

**It took us completely by surprise. The damage to us was immense—170,000 of our people were killed instantly, and another 80,000 died of wounds within two months.**

If we had foreseen such an attack, we might have had fewer casualties. But the attack of a nuclear weapon is like a thunderbolt out of the clear sky.

In the past ten years the weapons that inundated Hiroshima and Nagasaki have become quite old-fashioned.

**Yet even today, 13 years after, a number of the survivors are still suffering from that instant tragedy, and others from the terror it struck into their hearts.** A few suffer from skin tumours (keloids) and many more from leukaemia. Still others fall victims to other forms of the "atom bomb sickness."

Such was the diagnosis of Dr. Kawaishi in the case of Hideko Hirata, one of the "Hiroshima maidens" who went to the United States a few years ago for plastic surgery, when she died last April from a stomach cancer. Many others have died of various illness which were exacerbated over a period of time by the effect of the 1945 bombing.

### "Never again"

These facts are known to everyone in Hiroshima, and we are vigorously supporting the movement to prohibit atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The people of Hiroshima have a basis in experience for their keen concern for the possible damage caused by fall-out from

quantities of nuclear weapons is not peace in the true sense of the word. There is something stronger than all the unprecedented killing power of the bombs. We witnessed that, too, in Hiroshima.

The lesson we learned was that the greatest power on earth is the power of God's transcendent love. We learned the invincibility of this love in the heart of man. Against the rock of this faith, the worst conceivable weapon is powerless. Only through this love can there be true peace. Not even the atomic bomb can conquer it.

In the midst of our city, the survivors of Hiroshima erected a simple stone monument, bearing these humble words: "Rest in Peace. We shall never again repeat our mistakes." This is a poor translation, for the Japanese word which I have given in English as "mistakes" also means "sin" in the Christian sense.

The people of Hiroshima repent of their past sin. They acknowledge their complicity in the war that brought the disaster upon them, and they harbour no malice. Out of their deep sense of repentance, they stretch out their hands for reconciliation with God and with all mankind. It is in this spirit that their protest is uttered, as a prayer to God and an appeal to the world: "No more Hiroshimas!"—*Fellowship.*

## People awake to the danger

**T**HOUSANDS of the citizens of Hiroshima will be gathering in their city on August 6 in an annual ceremony to pledge themselves to work for peace, says a letter to Peace News from the Mayor and Chairman of the Municipal Assembly of Hiroshima, in Japan, Mr. Tadao Watanabe and Mr. Tsukasa Nitoguri. They write:

"We are witnesses to the misuse of nuclear energy, and the magnitude of this atrocity has changed the whole conception of weapons and war. This experience has spurred us to warn against the danger of any future war which would develop

## UP AND DOING

### THE LARGER CAMPAIGN

**O**NCE more the folly of our leaders has brought us to the brink of world war. Strategic Air Command has alerted its H-bomber crews. Armies everywhere are standing by for action; hands are poised in readiness over the controls that would rain destruction on our planet. How have we come to this point?

We have come to it because the statesmen of the world have refused to face up to the problems and needs of the 20th century. We have come to it because men have continued to put their faith in militarism and war with their concomitants of conscription and preparation for genocide.

Peace News has been in the forefront of the fight for a constructive programme that would remove the causes of war. It has fought for the recognition of the legitimate aspirations and grievances of downtrodden people, for their right to have a say in their own affairs, to have a "place in the sun." It has been in the forefront, almost alone indeed, in the fight for the unequivocal and complete renunciation of the method of war.

It is good to protest in times of crisis. It helped stave off war at the time of Suez. It may save us now—if we are lucky.

But sooner or later the people of the world must face up to the broader issues or be destroyed. Help us to make the facts known. Help us in this larger campaign for human survival.

To PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

★ I want to campaign for peace. Send me..... dozen PEACE NEWS this/next/very week at 3s. a doz., post free, and on a monthly account.

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★ Please send trial subscriptions to my friends (list attached) at 2s. 6d. for eight weeks, post free.

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## Bridgwater protest at A-station modification

**B**RIDGWATER and District Trades Council has passed a resolution deplor-



they had been told to do with the bomb and see its dreadful effects they would never have done it again."

## Rumours of wars



IT is encouraging to know that, in a crisis, pacifists can always be relied upon to rally to the cause. In spite of very short notice, they turned out for the poster parade to Hyde Park on July 20 to carry their message of "War—We Say No"

through the streets of London and to support their speakers on the green behind Speakers' Corner. On occasions such as the present flare up in the Middle East it is indeed necessary to let the clear voice of pacifism be heard throughout the country.

But even some pacifists find it hard to grasp the fact that in an emergency governments, whatever their political persuasion may be, will react in a manner hallowed by the tradition of power politics, and that only a strong expression of public disapproval will jolt them out of their well-worn grooves. The time, therefore, to proclaim "War—We Say No" most loudly, most persistently, and without ceasing, is when public opinion seems to be taking a rest between crises, if those words are to echo from a million lips when the threat of war is near. The time, in fact, to say "no" to war is today, tomorrow, the day after and always.

The response of the Peace Pledge Union to the events in the Middle East has been swift. A new leaflet has been printed and is being widely distributed. Calls to demonstrations and meetings have been posted. Those of you who are not able, for one reason or another, to carry a poster, speak in public or attend rallies, will surely want to share in these increased activities. You can do so by sending a gift to the PPU Headquarters Fund NOW, but please remember in weeks to come and when the present scare may have died down for the time being, that pacifists cannot afford to go to sleep between crises, and that they can afford to go on working as they must only with YOUR help and support.

HILDA VON KLENZE,  
Dick Sheppard House.

Amount received to date: £588.  
Our aim for the year: £1,200.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Such was the diagnosis of Dr. Kawaishi in the case of Hideko Hirata, one of the "Hiroshima maidens" who went to the United States a few years ago for plastic surgery, when she died last April from a stomach cancer. Many others have died of various illness which were exacerbated over a period of time by the effect of the 1945 bombing.

### "Never again"

These facts are known to everyone in Hiroshima, and we are vigorously supporting the movement to prohibit atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The people of Hiroshima have a basis in experience for their keen concern for the possible damage caused by fall-out from nuclear weapon tests. They know what it is like, as no one who has never experienced it can know.

To them the tests foretell a dreadful holocaust of destruction for all mankind, even before any war is begun, if the tests continue.

This is why the Japan Council Against A- and H-bombs is getting such wide support among people throughout Japan.

Among our most basic beliefs, our deepest faith, is that a peace based on massive

## People awake to the danger

THOUSANDS of the citizens of Hiroshima will be gathering in their city on August 6 in an annual ceremony to pledge themselves to work for peace, says a letter to Peace News from the Mayor and Chairman of the Municipal Assembly of Hiroshima, in Japan, Mr. Tadao Watanabe and Mr. Tsukasa Nitoguri. They write:

"We are witnesses to the misuse of nuclear energy, and the magnitude of this atrocity has changed the whole conception of weapons and war. This experience has spurred us to warn against the danger of any future war which would develop into a nuclear war and bring about even greater disasters on all peoples.

"We are encouraged to note that an increasing number of people are awake to this danger and public opinion is swelling in many countries to save the world from such a catastrophe. We believe that there is every sign that the year 1958 can be the year for the world to take a decisive turn toward peace.

"Atomic tragedy is not inevitable. We can avoid it if we unite in striving for peace."

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NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

## Bridgwater protest at A-station modification

BRIDGWATER and District Trades Council has passed a resolution deploring the recent announcement that the Hinkley Point atomic power station will be modified to produce plutonium for nuclear warheads, as well as for the production of electricity.

It asked that this decision be reversed so that Hinkley Point will be used solely for peaceful purposes.

The resolution is to be sent to the Prime Minister, the Central Electricity Generating Board, and to the Member of Parliament for the Bridgwater Division (Sir Gerald Wills).

Representatives of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War visited Hinkley Point and Bridgwater recently.

## 'Perpetual reminder' suggests Labour resolution

THE following resolution has been put down for the Labour Party Conference by the Edgbaston Constituency Labour Party: "This Conference calls upon the Labour Party to urge the initiation of negotiations for international nuclear disarmament, to press for the suspension of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, and to establish as a perpetual reminder of the evils of nuclear war a Hiroshima observance day."

## 10,000 MARCH TO TOKYO

IT was estimated that 10,000 people had participated in the 620-mile march from Hiroshima to Tokyo, when the marchers reached Kyoto on July 11.

Ten of the marchers walked all the way, among them a Nichiren Buddhist priest. In Kyoto, where the marchers were cheered by crowds lining the route and showered with coloured paper, three foreign delegates to the Fourth World Conference Against A- and H-bombs joined in. They were from West Germany, Peru and the Netherlands.



The Wythenshawe (Manchester) Peace Pledge Union Group entered this float for their local carnival—"the most thought provoking of all," said the Manchester City and Suburban News.



# PEACE NEWS

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## BEYOND NEUTRALISATION

**THE STUPID SPARRING** about the conditions that are to govern the holding of the "Summit" Conference on the Middle East must clearly be ended.

What is likely to have resulted from it is, not an improvement in the plans for the talks, but a demonstration of the US Government's dislike for any alternative to Cold War processes, and of a silly and irritating desire on the part of General de Gaulle to stand on his dignity as the head of a "Great Power."

Following the blunder of its intervention in Jordan, the British Government has shown, with the Russian Government, a readiness to approach this matter of the talks with a minimum concern for minor manoeuvring and fuss. There should now be developed among the British a desire to begin to talk in terms of the permanent peace that is necessary if civilisation is to continue, rather than in terms of the permanent continuance of the Cold War and the power struggle.

★ ★

**THERE IS A CONTRADICTION** in the US attitude to the talks that could be used to advance their usefulness.

Although it has no use for the talks at all, the US State Department is well aware that its case for its massive intervention in Lebanon will not come out well from any impartial examination. The same thing applies, of course, to the more modest British intervention in Jordan.

The US Government is anxious, therefore, that the talks should have wider terms of reference than Lebanon and Jordan and should be concerned with the whole Middle East. This is all to the good, and it is only on such a basis that the discussions can have any value.

The most farseeing thinking of which the Powers are capable at present is planning for the neutralisation of the Middle East, and if this should be achieved it would of course be something to be welcomed.

It is becoming evident, however, that in the drift of the statesmen towards the final catastrophe of an atomic war it is later than we have thought.

● **THE IDEA OF "NEUTRALISATION" AS ANYTHING MORE THAN A VERY TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT IS NOW OUT-OF-DATE.**

After all, the idea of neutralisation postulates the continuation of the struggle, and it is the struggle itself that must be brought to an end if humanity is to survive.

While, therefore, we should be glad to see an acceptance of the neutralisation of the Middle East—and also, for different reasons, a neutralised area in Central Europe—the primary value

## NATO and the Middle East

**THE** Middle East crisis is subjecting NATO to new stresses in addition to the already fierce hostility between Greece and Turkey on account of Cyprus.

If any NATO country were directly attacked by Russia or one of Russia's associates, the others would of course still come to its assistance. But the internal cohesion, which was never very close, has been further weakened by the impact of the American landings in Lebanon and the British in Jordan—to the delight of the Kremlin, the chagrin of NATO headquarters in Paris, and the quiet satisfaction of those who do not believe that the struggle between Communism and the West lies in the military field and who dislike pacts which have a tendency to intensify and to perpetuate world divisions.

It was inevitable that as far as France is concerned the use of the term indirect aggression in justification of the American and British interventions should make people's thoughts fly back to an old grievance: that France's NATO partners have steadfastly refused to help her in Algeria in spite of the constantly repeated assertion that the Algerian rebellion would have proved a damp squib without external, mainly Egyptian, help. And this is not all. The French also remember that when they, together with Britain, began the anti-Nasser Suez operation without prior consultation with either the United Nations or their NATO partners, the United Nations put a prompt stop to the undertaking, and most of the NATO partners were disconcertingly outspoken in condemnation. Where then is the justice, they ask, of United Nations action—or rather inaction—in the present case? Are matters supposed to be different when the great USA is involved? There has been no condemnation, only time- and face-saving adjournments; and only now, when the Americans do not want the kind of conference originally proposed by Russia, are the United Nations to be brought into full play.

Apart from France's, other voices have been heard in disapproval of the American and British landings in the course of last week's Paris meeting of the NATO Council, notably those of Germany, Italy, the Scandinavians' and the Greeks—all of them, of course, members of the so-called Western solidarity. If NATO still holds together, it is only by a common hatred; and that, as the Western-Soviet wartime alliance goes to show, is a poor foundation.

## Drift

**THE** timid opposition of the Parliamentary Labour Party to the actions of the British and American Governments in the Middle East is characteristic of the present mood of the Party.

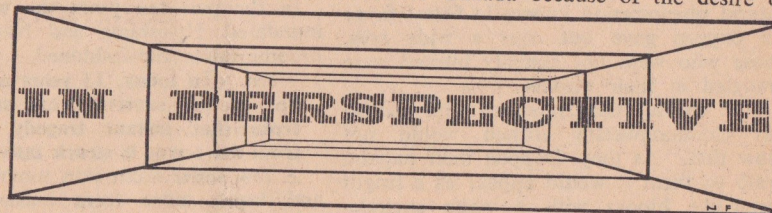
It was prepared to oppose the British Government's

subsequently made a speech to the Canadian Parliament on the subject.

The President's enumeration of the Canadian subjects of complaint and his contention that they could not reasonably be regarded as grievances at all, deserves some consideration, for it provides a useful indication of the consequences, not only for Canada, but for the rest of the "free world" in the future unless the Americans are ready to contemplate radical changes in the control and organisation of their economy.

Mr. Diefenbaker had complained that the disposal of American wheat surpluses at below-cost prices had unfair consequences in the world market and was detrimental to Canadian interests; that the trade balance as between Canada and the US is adverse to Canada each year by about a thousand million dollars; that quota restrictions imposed by Washington on imports of Canadian oil interfered with the prospective Canadian market and aggravated the adverse trade balance; and that the huge amount of capital held by US companies in Canada was having the effect of making Canada an economic satellite of the US.

The reply of the President on these points provides food for thought. Had the wheat surpluses remained in storage, he said, they would have had a depressing effect on the world market; Canada's adverse trade balance follows from the fact that, neither country operating a system of state trading, the articles flow in from the US to Canada because of the desire of



the individual Canadians to buy: as to the quotas, neither Canada or the US were free trading countries and each took action to protect particular sectors of their economy; and as for the huge investments held by US nationals in Canada, these "have helped you to develop your resources."

While all of this is very true, it provides no remedy for the growing Canadian dilemma represented by its rapidly increasing indebtedness to the United States—a dilemma that may ultimately become that of the whole "free world." If there is to be a permanent US balance of exports over imports this can only be maintained in one of two ways: either the surpluses will have to be given away or they will have to be lent—that is, invested. In the first case they will play havoc with the markets that the American capitalists, just as much as the Canadians, want to maintain; in the second case they will increasingly create economic satellites to the US, thus increasing the



all to the good, and it is only on such a basis that the discussions can have any value.

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After all, the idea of neutralisation postulates the continuation of the struggle, and it is the struggle itself that must be brought to an end if humanity is to survive.

While, therefore, we should be glad to see an acceptance of the neutralisation of the Middle East—and also, for different reasons, a neutralised area in Central Europe—the primary value of these changes would lie in the possibility that they could lead to something more positive.

It is for this reason that a Summit Conference that is focussed on the Middle East is something that offers a greater prospect of achievement than would a conference that were to concern itself, for instance, with certain artificially abstracted aspects of the armaments problem. For in the Middle East there is a crying need for more positive plans for co-operation than a mere agreement for neutralisation.

★ ★

**THE PRESENT ERA OF TURMOIL** in the Middle East began in 1956 with the sudden withdrawal by the US of the offer to assist with the construction of the Aswan Dam.

This was a consequence of President Nasser's interpretation of neutrality as entitling him to have a foot in both camps instead of only one. It is possible to have every sympathy with the under-developed nations in their endeavour to play off one set of Powers against the other to their own advantage, but the possible consequences for the world are much too serious.

This is a field in which much more than an acceptance of neutrality is required. What is necessary is a positive co-operation in development; for this the Aswan Dam offered a profitable opportunity.

★ ★

**A GREAT DEAL OF ASSISTANCE** could, with goodwill, be brought by the Powers in co-operation to the development of the Middle East.

In this way they could, as incidental consequences, make easier the ending of the degrading Arab-Israeli strife, and also provide a reasonable framework for the control of the oil resources for the benefit of the world at large and of the Middle Eastern peoples rather than their feudal rulers.

As we have more than once insisted, the Russians have made proposals that could conceivably be developed into the kind of plans we have contemplated above, and the possibilities of such joint action in the area should be examined in the forthcoming conference.

If there could be a positive outcome in this sense there would be the hope for the future that the example might prove contagious and could be applied to other problems.

**IN THAT WAY PLANS BEGINNING WITH MERE NEUTRALISATION MIGHT LEAD TO PLANS FOR ENDING THE COLD WAR.**

Apart from France's, other voices have been heard in disapproval of the American and British landings in the course of last week's Paris meeting of the NATO Council, notably those of Germany, Italy, the Scandinavians' and the Greeks—all of them, of course, members of the so-called Western solidarity. If NATO still holds together, it is only by a common hatred; and that, as the Western-Soviet wartime alliance goes to show, is a poor foundation.

## Drift

**THE** timid opposition of the Parliamentary Labour Party to the actions of the British and American Governments in the Middle East is characteristic of the present mood of the Party.

It was prepared to oppose the British Government's intervention in Jordan, but not prepared to campaign publicly against the policy, even though the situation was in many ways more dangerous than Suez. It refused to vote against the Government's support of American intervention in Lebanon on the grounds that the situation was not clear. Yet it was perfectly clear that the American action was opposed to the work of the United Nations in the Lebanon.

The dominant note in the Parliamentary Labour Party has been lack of courage. Because of its obsessive fear of the floating vote it has taken a firm stand on very few issues. Nor is the situation much better on the Left of the Party.

The attitude there is well summed up by the resolution put down for the Party's annual Conference by the Worthing constituency party:

"... Believing that a far greater response is necessary to ensure a Labour return to power at the next General Election, and that the present apathy is due in a large measure to doubts and uncertainties in the minds of the electorate, Conference urges that the National Executive Committee and the Parliamentary Labour Party make more emphatic and positive statements of socialist aims and ideals."

The Labour Party's plan for progress that should embody these more positive statements of aims should surely include a re-statement of the values that inspired the Socialist movement in its beginnings and should be something other than a streamlined capitalism motivated by the modern managerialistic trend.

Is there any hope of a new radical movement that could halt this drift or effectively replace the Labour Party?

## Canadian object lesson

**MR. JOHN DIEFENBAKER**, the Canadian Prime Minister, was successful in his election campaign last March on the basis of a number of grievances felt by Canadians as a result of their national trading relationships with the US.

In his recent visit to Ottawa, President Eisenhower discussed these questions with Mr. Diefenbaker, and

each took action to protect particular sectors of their economy; and as for the huge investments held by US nationals in Canada, these "have helped you to develop your resources."

While all of this is very true, it provides no remedy for the growing Canadian dilemma represented by its rapidly increasing indebtedness to the United States—a dilemma that may ultimately become that of the whole "free world." If there is to be a permanent US balance of exports over imports this can only be maintained in one of two ways: either the surpluses will have to be given away or they will have to be lent—that is, invested. In the first case they will play havoc with the markets that the American capitalists, just as much as the Canadians, want to maintain: in the second case they will increasingly create economic satellites to the US throughout the "free world."

## Jomo Kenyatta

**IN** a recent discussion in the Kenya Legislative Council the Chief Secretary, Mr. W. F. Coutts, reiterated the intention of the Government to confine Jomo Kenyatta, after his release from prison, in some remote place "far from the scene of his former criminal activities."

This arose from a speech by an African member, Mr. Odinga, in which he suggested that the "criminals" now in Lokitaung Prison were still the political leaders of Africans in Kenya. Miss Rosalynde Ainslie, the London representative of Africa South, was impressed, on a recent visit to Kenya, by the fact that the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta was accepted by all the responsible Africans with whom she spoke.

It is hardly necessary to add that these Africans do not accept the "guilt" of Jomo Kenyatta. Those of us who knew him well in England find the idea of his "guilt" quite incredible, and a close study of the trial record makes it clear that Kenyatta was framed for political purposes—a view which is only rejected by those whose political purposes were served. If any real evidence against Kenyatta had ever been produced he would have been hanged. In the absence of such evidence he was considered to be implicated by a contemptible smear campaign, conducted with the legal trappings of a prosecution.

Similar smears have frequently been made to discredit Archbishop Makarios. But for the repercussions in Greece and elsewhere, he would probably have been charged and convicted as the "organiser" of terrorism in Cyprus. Instead of that we are probably near to the point at which Makarios will participate in negotiations to decide the future of Cyprus. It is unfortunate that the Kenya Government, by seeking to perpetuate the lie about Kenyatta should be making more difficult the transition to a new situation, in which they may have to confer with Kenyatta—within the next few years—as the leader of his people.



# A PEACE PROGRAMME FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

PEACE NEWS—August 1, 1958—5

## Briefly

IN a letter to the Prime Minister, the Fellowship Party have suggested that the Governments of the great Powers should use their influence to persuade the Arab Governments and the Government of Israel to meet in conference under a chairman designated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and acceptable to all the participants. The objects of the conference would be to negotiate the disarmament of the countries represented, with a view to making the Middle East a totally demilitarised zone, and to work out a peaceful solution of the problems of the area.

The Labour Peace Fellowship has arranged their usual meeting for the Labour Party Conference in September. The meeting will be held at the Central Library, Vernon Rd., Scarborough, at 7.45 p.m. on September 29. The speakers will be Fenner Brockway, MP, Walter Monslow, MP, Victor Yates, MP, and Minnie Pallister. The Secretary of the LPF will be glad to hear from anybody who can give assistance during the Conference.

Twenty Goan nationalists were sentenced by a Goan military court between July 9 and 20 to jail sentences ranging upwards from two and a half years. Mr. Polly Silva received 20 years.

Mr. Sydney Silverman made the following comment on the landing of British troops in Jordan to protect that country from possible attack by Iraq: "What a very odd situation we have now reached in which we have landed troops in a country which is not a member of the Bagdad Pact in order to preserve it from attack from a country which is a member of the Bagdad Pact."

THE Summit Conference is, in the first instance, a triumph for Mr. Khrushchov.

American troops in Lebanon, British troops in Jordan, would logically have been followed by Russian troops in Iraq. Instead came the proposal that heads of Governments should meet.

It was a superb stroke. Let's admit it, and let's be thankful for it.

Secondly, we must thank India. Pandit Nehru's prompt acceptance of the Russian invitation made refusal by America and Britain, particularly Britain, difficult.

Thirdly, we should thank the Labour Opposition in the House of Commons (and let us not forget the Liberals who also voted against the Jordan intervention). The Government could not ignore the fact that more than a third of the British Parliament rejected military action. They could not think of war with a nation so divided. Mr. Khrushchov's proposal provided the way out.

Fourthly, let us be fair, some gratitude is due to the British Government itself. Having decided in favour of a Summit Conference, the Prime Minister did not hesitate to press it on a reluctant America.

## SUSPICIONS

But the crisis is not over. Snags may arise about the attendance at the Conference. Gulfs may yawn as differences are discussed.

Western delay has already brought suspicion. The American-British forces and equipment continued to descend on the Middle East after the Summit Conference had been accepted in principle. Why? And why on a scale much larger than any defence of Lebanon and Jordan required?

King Hussein's declared intention to attack Iraq intensified the doubts. He knows that he cannot do it alone. His troops would refuse. This is why he appealed to his "friends" for support. The danger is that some incident may be provoked or invented which would sabotage the Summit Conference before it begins.

## FIRST STEP

If Britain and America seriously wish the Conference to have a chance of success

By

**Fenner Brockway, MP**  
**Chairman of the Movement**  
**for Colonial Freedom**

istic to the West; it has guaranteed oil. King Hussein's talk of a Communist revolution is ludicrous. All that has happened is that army officers and intellectuals have revolted against a dictatorial King, or—as one of my friends puts it—Sandhurst College and the London School of Economics have thrown over Harrow. It may well be that a more thoroughgoing revolution has still to come. The West would be wise to embrace the present whilst it has the chance.

The third need is to reach a decision to neutralise the Middle East, to exclude it from the military pacts and political pressures of the two Power blocs, to place an embargo on supplies of arms from either side. This would be in accordance with the desires of the Arab people themselves.

## ELECTIONS

Fourthly, it would be good if it were agreed that the United Nations should supervise free elections in the disputed territories, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, it may be Kuwait, with the recognition of the political Oppositions, the liberation of the political prisoners, freedom of speech and meeting, the right to form trades unions, and all civil liberties. In this way the real

desires of the peoples would become known.

Fifthly, the Governments so elected should have the right to unite or federate across the present frontiers. There is a sweeping wave of Arab solidarity in the Middle East. It should be accorded free expression.

Sixthly, these Governments should, of course, have the full right to nationalise the oil wells, which are now the property of Kings and Sheiks and who become fabulously rich. This would involve no breach in oil supplies. The wells would be worthless if the oil is not sold.

## AID

Finally, one hopes that the Summit Conference may recommend the United Nations to establish a fund for economic aid to the Middle East, and that America, Britain and Russia will agree to contribute to the pool. The poverty of most of these peoples is terrible. If to the fair distribution of oil wealth is added the provision of money for the Aswan Dam in Egypt and other creative projects, a profound social change could take place within a generation.

I add a postscript. The Arab-Israeli conflict poisons the whole of the Middle East. If the Arab peoples were released from their present frustrations by the liberation and fulfilment pregnant in these changes, a psychology might be created in which a Middle East Federation including Israel would be realisable.

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SUMMIT COMMENTARY By Roy Sherwood

## "More than merely a consideration of Lebanon and Jordan"

IT is now reasonably, though not yet absolutely, certain that a Summit conference on the Middle East will be held; but it will not begin in the atmosphere one could wish for on such an occasion.

If President Eisenhower's letter to Mr. Khrushchov of July 15, written in a style

they will cheerfully bargain away with a sense of moral satisfaction in the abolition of out-dated protectorates.

Mr. Macmillan's position will be more difficult. Sharing the anti-communist dislike, he will be burdened by the weight of an extra axe to grind. And he can hardly fail to be pursued by the thought that his recent gain in popularity, as with

under the same pressure that both Kuwait and Bahrain have given advance notice that they do not want foreign troops to protect them.

The point to be realised about this is the same as that for which the Sultan of Lahej, ruler of the more than 1,200 miles away protectorate of that name at the southern end of Arabia, had to take his



equipment continued to descend on the Middle East after the Summit Conference had been accepted in principle. Why? And why on a scale much larger than any defence of Lebanon and Jordan required?

King Hussein's declared intention to attack Iraq intensified the doubts. He knows that he cannot do it alone. His troops would refuse. This is why he appealed to his "friends" for support. The danger is that some incident may be provoked or invented which would sabotage the Summit Conference before it begins.

## FIRST STEP

If Britain and America seriously wish the Conference to have a chance of success they should do two things immediately. First, stop sending any further forces into the Middle East. Second, stop Hussein from making any further threats against Iraq.

Let us assume, however, that the Conference meets. What then? The first aim should be to secure the withdrawal of the American and British troops. Let the United Nations observers in Lebanon be extended, let them be put into Jordan if the West insist; but their purpose should be clearly defined. They should be there solely to stop infiltration of fighting men and equipment from outside. They should not be there to save tottering and tyrannical régimes from internal revolution.

Secondly, the new Government in Iraq should be recognised. One deplores the methods of the revolution as one always deplores violence in revolutions. But it is nonsense to suggest that cruel men have replaced a kindly ruler. One of the last acts of Nuri es-Said was to hang 27 officers and civil servants without trial.

The new Iraqi Government is in control. It is proving moderate; it is not antagon-

## Peacemakers at work

Anybody interested in economic effort for peace is invited to help with the harvesting on Potts Farm, Ash, Canterbury. The usual rates are paid for the work, but it is suggested that part of any bonus should be contributed to the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War.

As a result of the Middle East crisis the Channel Islands PPU are making extra special efforts to sell Peace News. In addition to their normal Sunday night efforts, they are devoting Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays to selling the paper during the crisis.

and a civil liberties author.)

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If President Eisenhower's letter to Mr. Khrushchov of July 15, written in a style so unusual in diplomatic correspondence as to have caused widespread comment, is an indication of the attitude the Americans will bring into the meetings, it will not be surprising if Mr. Khrushchov, who can hold his own in any exchange of rudenesses, soon raises US blood pressure to danger point.

There is one point, however, surprisingly made in both the Macmillan and Eisenhower letters, which we can welcome whole-heartedly. Its wording in the Eisenhower letter is "to put peace and security on a more stable basis in the Middle East requires more than merely a consideration of Lebanon and Jordan. These situations are but isolated manifestations of far broader problems."

## Carelessness

They are, and it is inconceivable that Mr. Khrushchov should not be in full agreement on this point. But its emphasised inclusion in the two Western letters is so surprising that it is hard to avoid the suspicion either of carelessness or of the intention of being misleadingly ambiguous. For, whereas Eisenhower is almost certain to mean the sentence as referring to the safety of Israel, and Macmillan to that of specifically British interests in addition, Khrushchov will naturally read them as referring to Kuwait, Bahrein, Saudi Arabia and the Aden Protectorates. And he will bring them into the discussion at the first mention of such words as freedom, democratic rights, or anything else remotely connected with government in accordance with the wishes of the governed.

The United States will not be seriously worried about that. Restive populations are no advantage to their anti-communist policies, and there is a lot of British privilege left in the Arab world which

they will cheerfully bargain away with a sense of moral satisfaction in the abolition of out-dated protectorates.

Mr. Macmillan's position will be more difficult. Sharing the anti-communist dislike, he will be burdened by the weight of an extra axe to grind. And he can hardly fail to be pursued by the thought that his recent gain in popularity, as witnessed by the majority approval in the recent Gallup poll on the Jordan landings, is unlikely to survive the first realisation by his new supporters of what the inevitable results of a full-scale consideration of conditions in the Middle East must be.

## Peak of unwisdom

It was the peak point of all unwisdom to choose Jordan as the focal point of opposition to the onward march of Arab determination to do away with externally-created governments.

It is a country without any chance of legitimate independent survival, without resources of its own, and without anything to sell—except its allegiance to the highest bidder.

In addition, it suffers from the infliction of a million refugees from Palestine; and its king, a nice enough but heavily Cadillac-minded young man, is far from being a good personification of Western respect for freedom and democracy of any kind. Even if Mr. Khrushchov were a fool, it would be easy for him to expose British anxiety to save this particular throne as evidence of pure reactionarism.

Nor will the Russians fail to make all they can of the existence of completely autocratic régimes in Kuwait and Bahrein; and of those, only slightly less autocratic, in the other British Protectorates. Of all the Arab countries, none is so well off financially as Kuwait, with Bahrein a close runner-up.

Yet even there, and in spite of considerable measures, in some cases, for the improvement of social conditions, the rumblings against the present régimes can leave no one in doubt about coming developments. It is under internal pressure that Prince Abdullah Salem el Sabah, Sultan of Kuwait, went to his interview at Damascus with Egypt's Colonel Nasser, and

under the same pressure that both Kuwait and Bahrein have given advance notice that they do not want foreign troops to protect them.

The point to be realised about this is the same as that for which the Sultan of Lahej, ruler of the more than 1,200 miles away protectorate of that name at the southern end of Arabia, had to take his stand against Britain, with the consequence that Whitehall banned him from his territory a few weeks ago. As matters stand, no Arab ruler who tries to keep in step with his people's aspirations can avoid getting into the bad books of Great Britain; and those whom the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office favour because they are "loyal and reliable" are all in danger of facing internal rebellion. Whatever else may happen, the coming meeting is likely to put an end to that state of affairs.

## POLICE STATE?

From Basil Delaine.

CHURCHMEN in Northern Rhodesia are sinking their denominational differences to fight what many believe to be the first step towards a police state in the territory.

They refer to recent laws which, if applied, could put every liberal in jail and could seriously hamper church activities. The offending laws come in an amendment to a police ordinance and in a societies' ordinance.

One makes it necessary for churches with ten or more members to register as an organisation or apply for exemption. The police amendment calls for all open-air, evangelistic, and other church meetings and processions—including funerals—to request permission to hold them. Such a request could take up to ten days before any answer were given.

The Rev. Merfyn Temple, a Lusaka missionary, told me in Ndola last week that church leaders of all denominations are to hold a meeting this week with a view to protesting about "this first radical step towards a police state." Mr. Temple added: "What do they expect us to do in the case of a funeral? Put the body in a refrigerator?"



## Growing edge of the radical tradition

# Non-violent direct action in Britain

**NON-VIOLENT** action against various expressions of exploitation, oppression and authoritarianism are an important but little-recorded part of the history of many lands. This makes it difficult to consider the development of such action and to see it as part of a historical tradition. Recent years in Britain, for example, have witnessed an extraordinary development in the use of and organisation for non-violent direct action.

Late in 1951, at the height of the Cold War, Operation Gandhi, later known as the Non-Violent Resistance Group, was formed (largely from members of the Peace Pledge Union who had spent two years of study in the PPU's Non-Violence Commission) and developed a number of projects; the Atomic Research Establishment at Harwell, the Mildenhall US bomber base and the Porton germ warfare research establishment all witnessed the protest actions of the group. It still surprises people to hear that there was a first Aldermaston March back at Easter 1952 when the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment was still being built.

These projects were directed against specific manifestations of the general evil of preparation for total war. The experience of the Group has since been most valuable and drawn on heavily, especially because it held important evaluation conferences after each project. A hard core of experienced individuals was formed, and it is doubtful whether the Aldermaston March could have triumphed so dramatically, or been conceived, if the first unheralded protest had not been made.

The Group's last project was to send Michael Randle to the Austro-Hungarian border immediately after the 1956 Hungarian revolt. Mike, now 24 and a full-of-energy sales organiser of Peace News, went out to snow-bound Austria to demonstrate against violence and bloodshed, and to encourage the further use of

non-violent resistance in struggles for freedom. In a long solitary mid-winter walk from

By  
**CHRISTOPHER FARLEY**

initiative opened the way for many to declare their sympathy, particularly those who had often thought of pacifists as sectarian and abstract moralisers.

After Harold Steele's return to England, a conference was called of his supporters, and after various organisational changes there emerged a Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. A sub-committee of this was the Aldermaston March Committee, consisting of Frank Allaun, MP, Michael Randle, Walter Wolfgang, and Hugh Brock (Chairman), with Pat Arrowsmith coming on the scene as Organising Secretary.

### First step

The Aldermaston triumph completed, there was another major organisational overhaul. The present Direct action Committee Against Nuclear War\*

emerged, considerably strengthened by the inclusion of new people representative of many shades of opinion and background. The Committee adopted the policy of assisting "the conducting of non-violent direct action to obtain the total unilateral renunciation of nuclear war and its weapons by Britain and all other countries as a first

step in disarmament." It also drew up a discipline leaflet, adopting individual non-violence for its projects.

Harold Steele, and his wife Sheila, were of course already members. Co-opted were Francis Jude, the field worker of the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers) and Sheila Jones, the physicist who was honorary secretary of the earlier National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests (out of which grew the present Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). Other members include Allen Skinner, the Associate Editor of Peace News; the Rev. Michael Scott, the Director of the Africa Bureau who has first-hand experience of non-violent resistance in South Africa; Dr. Donald Soper, who was asked to sponsor and wrote back asking to join the Committee; Dr. Alex Comfort, whose overall assessment of strategy has proved so valuable; and William Crampton from the London University Students' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Michael Randle became the chairman. Pacifists and non-pacifists have thus been able to work together and learn from each other.

### A lead

There are now two full-time staff for the Committee. The secretary is April Carter, who organised the week-long vigil at Aldermaston after the march. Not yet 21, April has an extraordinary maturity and political consciousness. A cousin of David Hoggett, who has just been awarded the Nansen Award by the United Nations, she has given up a degree course in Greek and Latin at Oxford University in order to work for the Committee. She says of the Committee: "In the field of direct action we are really the only people to give a lead, and we haven't got the money or the staff.



**Michael Randle**

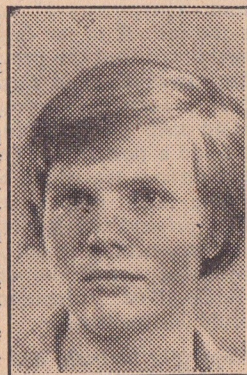
We've got a good mailing list of supporters including people of all ages . . . Quakers, young activists, Labour Party members and so on."

Pat Arrowsmith, who has become projects field worker, was described by The Times last week as "a brisk young woman." This is the Establishment's own way of explaining that Pat has the energy to travel all over the country to visit sites for possible projects, and that once a decision has been reached she sees no reason for not implementing it at the first opportunity.

And now they are back at Aldermaston on the current project, the nine-week picket to try to help H-workers to leave their jobs for something beneficial to the community.

Despite the tremendous strain on their resources, the Committee has other projects in mind for the autumn. To those who look for Utopia tomorrow morning, they would reply that theirs is an immense task. But it is a continuing and developing purpose, and non-violent direct action has become an established feature of the growing edge of the British radical tradition.

\*344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4.



**April Carter**

# CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

## Kathryn Larson, an American schoolgirl appeals to her country

A sixteen-year-old student at Menlo-Atherton High School in California, USA, was required to write a paper for a course she was taking on "American Institutions."

Inspired in part by a meeting with Roy Kepler, a well-known pacifist in Menlo Park, she wrote the essay from which the following extracts are taken. It was marked "A" by her teacher.

A large amount of the world's land area and population has been swept under Communism by Russia, and threatens to destroy the freedoms and fundamentals upon which our governments are based. The world has come to know and dread the horrors of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

It is widely believed that a third world





have triumphed so dramatically, or been conceived, if the first unheralded protest had not been made.

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Pat Arrowsmith

to encourage the further use of non-violent resistance in struggles for freedom. In a long solitary mid-winter walk from Vienna to the Hungarian border, with posters and leaflets printed in Hungarian and German, he was surprised at the encouragement he received at a time when Russian tanks and suppression might have created an immediate emotional reaction against his message.

Then came the break through the Press barrier. It was Harold Steele's attempt to intervene at Christmas Island, later to inspire the sailing from the U.S.A. of the "Golden Rule," which suddenly caught the attention of the world. The fact that the Worcestershire man finally did not manage to get from Japan to the British H-test area did not prevent his mission from alerting millions in a very personal human way to the insanity of the nuclear arms race. This gave a completely fresh impetus to non-violent action projects. It was also discovered that, once sufficient people knew that somebody had the courage and the vision to undertake an organised dramatic project, money would be forthcoming. The

the first international non-violent action to obtain the total unilateral renunciation of nuclear war and its weapons by Britain and all other countries as a first

April Carter

work for the Committee. She says of the Committee: "In the field of direct action we are really the only people to give a lead, and we haven't got the money or the staff.

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CIVIL disobedience is the refusal to comply with certain laws which one feels are one's duty to disobey. "What I have to do," wrote Thoreau, "is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn." He also said, "The only obligation which I have the right to assume is to do at any time what I think right." Thoreau's particular argument was the refusal to pay taxes to a government which supported slavery.

He was, however, a lone man, and though his night in prison gave him the satisfaction that he lived as his conscience ruled him, his brilliant contribution was the organisation of this philosophy in an essay, "Civil Disobedience," printed in 1849.

Gandhi was influenced by Thoreau's essay early in his life as a leader. Gandhi studied the essay during his own stay in prison and later called it "a masterly treatise which left a deep impression on me." He made use of the work in adapting it to his situation and resisting the injustice of the British Government in South Africa and India.

What he did was to organise a civil disobedience movement and develop it into non-violent resistance by a mass of people. He expanded civil disobedience into a method which he named "Satyagraha," which translated means Soul-Force. "Satyagraha is the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self." It proposed that the opponent be weaned from error by patience and sympathy.

## Freeing India

WHEN the British imposed an impossible salt law on Indians, Gandhi embarked again on a civil disobedience campaign whereby he and 78 others began on a march to the sea to pick up salt which was now an outlawed act. Previous to the trip he said, "Nothing but organised non-violence can check the

organised violence of the British Government. . . . This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience. . . . My ambition is no less than to convert the British Government through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India."

After 24 days of walking they reached the sea with a band which had grown to a non-violent army several thousand strong. Civil disobedience was contagious. As a result of stealing the salt from the beach mass arrests were made; many were sentenced to short prison terms. Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to six months for infringing on the Salt Act.

Open campaigns followed during which many Indians were savagely beaten and killed by the British without the Indians doing even so much as raising an arm to protect themselves or resist. India was free—not technically free—but she showed that she could not be beaten or ruled over in any real sense of the word, any longer. From then on it was only a matter of time before Britain stepped out of the picture altogether.

## 'We must prepare'

THAT the world has changed drastically in the last half-century or so is an obvious and familiar fact to all of us. The scientific advancements in communication, transportation, medicine, atomic physics, and agriculture have of course, greatly affected our way of life. This is a new world in which we live.

A large amount of the world's land area and population has been swept under Communism by Russia, and threatens to destroy the freedoms and fundamentals upon which our governments are based. The world has come to know and dread the horrors of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

It is widely believed that a third world war would involve atomic warfare, and that if atomic warfare is used, that all nations involved, in fact the whole world, would quite possibly be destroyed or future generations become monsters.

The crisis may not be far in the future. We must prepare. But a greater kind of preparation is being conceived by a few, than preparation for atomic war. . . .

## Non-violent organisation

WE must prepare for Russian occupation of the United States by a major change of attitude of the American people. The plan must not involve violence—but non-violent organisation. A strong, national, co-ordinated civil disobedience campaign would be put into effective use. All official Russian orders would be universally disobeyed. We would remain independent and invincible.

Once properly launched, a civil disobedience movement needs no leaders. Each person would rely on his own strength—the strength of his inner convictions. Word, creed and deed would be one in every individual. We would be cautious not to inflict harm on the Russian soldiers, but show to them the strength and our trust in our ways. Thus, they could never conquer us.

Unfortunately, most of our political leaders have failed to conceive this—and consequently, those citizens who are beginning to see the necessity for this preparation are joining a minority group which can conceive it. It is a growing group.

And so it seems that civil disobedience and its sister, the doctrine of non-violence, proven effective as a peaceful means of freeing a country in the past, may be integral to success in our remaining free in the future.

It requires a certain change in our social system training, and good timing. This new world demands much of us. The great problem of preparation is facing us.

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

**Sunday, August 3—Wednesday, August 6**  
**WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA:** 10 a.m.—10 p.m. Western Esplanade, 100 yds. West of Swimming Pool, North Side. Exhibition "No Place to Hide." Stewards required—ring 8152. Viewers and helpers welcomed. Southend CND.

**Monday, August 4**  
**LONDON, W.C.1:** Parade through the West End. Assemble at Dick Sheppard House 4 p.m. PPU.

**Tuesday, August 5**  
**GLASGOW, C.2:** 10.30 a.m. Christian Institute, 70 Bothwell St. CO Tribunal.

**Friday, August 8**  
**GLASGOW, C.2:** 10.30 a.m. Christian Institute, 70 Bothwell St. CO Tribunal.

**LONDON, S.W.6:** 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham Bdy Stn.) Tribunal for COs.

**Monday, August 11**  
**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs.

**Monday, August 11—Monday, August 18**  
**PORTSMOUTH:** 241 New Rd. Bookshop for sale of books and literature on nuclear disarmament. CND.

**Saturday, August 16—Saturday, August 23**  
**ELFINSWARD, Haywards Heath, Sx.** Anglican Pacifist Conference "Arms and the World Today." Local friends welcome at all sessions. APF, 29 Gt. James St., London, W.C.1

**Monday, September 8**  
**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Meeting of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. All Welcome.

**Monday, September 15**  
**SHEFFIELD:** 7.45 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Stuart Morris on his recent visit to Russia. PPU.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Every week!

### SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

**LONDON:** 3 p.m.; Clapham Common. Christian Pacifist Open-air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

**GLASGOW:** 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open-air Meeting.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1.2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meeting House (outside) Peace News selling.

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## "Food, Freedom and Faith"

**FRIENDSHIP HOUSE** (Freundschafts-

# Everyman's guide to disarmament

GERALD BAILEY reviews

**The Arms Race—A Programme for World Disarmament.** Philip Noel-Baker. Atlantic Books, Stevens and Sons. 579 pages 25s.

**T**WO things at least are self-evident about the disarmament problem as it appears today—one that its solution becomes increasingly vital and urgent, and two that success in solving it seems as remote and uncertain as ever. The attempt to solve it under the ægis of the United Nations (leaving aside what went before) has now lasted 13 years.

There have been four UN Disarmament Commissions in that time and latterly four years of intensive negotiation in the Disarmament Sub-Committee of the great Powers.

The debate has not been entirely without its uses and achievements, but so far it has not reduced the amount of armament in the world by a single bomb, aeroplane, warship, tank or even rifle. There has been some little disarmament by unilateral action, but that is another matter. In terms of the end result which is the agreed abolition—total or partial—of weapons, the failure to date has been spectacular and complete.

All this must somewhat damp the ardour of feebler advocates of the disarmament cause. Not so the author of this book. Philip Noel-Baker has devoted a lifetime to the study and advocacy of a universal and radical disarmament under international control as an indispensable condition of peace.



He is informed on the elements of the problem as few others are informed; he is eloquent in the presentation of its challenges and utterly dedicated to the purpose of resolving it.

He was writing authoritatively on these matters more than 30 years ago. He has now resumed the task in a compendious book which must establish itself as a standard work on these questions. No one who wants to know or needs to know the ins and outs of the armaments problem and its handling by the governments, especially over the last decade, will be able to do without it.

It is difficult in a short notice to indicate the immense sweep of the survey Mr. Noel-Baker has undertaken. A chapter on the growth of armaments goes back as far as

ined ranging from the crucial issue of inspection and control to the implications for disarmament of "disengagement" and demilitarised zones.

Facts and quotations are aptly chosen and presented and there is a meticulous attention to sources throughout the book. In the review of the great-power discussions of recent times the relative responsibilities of the two sides for the failure to date of the negotiations are assessed with a most commendable but unusual objectivity and fairness.

Of many instances of this I would cite the interpretation of the motives of the Russians in rejecting in 1946 the so-called Baruch Plan for an international atomic development agency.



What is the upshot of it all and what the outlook for the future? Philip Noel-Baker has no doubts about the answer.

There is "no defeatism or depression in this house," to transcribe the war-time injunction.

The arms race must be stopped and stopped quickly if humanity is to survive; disarmament must be effected to "a grand design, an overall plan" (quoting Thomas K. Finletter) and to a radical and far-reaching degree, it can only be so effected by an internationally agreed and established system of reduction, abolition and control (there is not, I think, a single reference for or against to *unilateral* disarmament in the whole book), and given an adequate will to establish such a system there is no reason why it should not be achieved.

"The broad issues," says Philip Noel-Baker at the end of the book, "are quite simple; technical solutions will cause rela-

PEACE NEWS—August 1, 1958—7

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Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different  
denominations.

**FRIDAYS**  
**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meet-  
ing House (outside) Peace News selling.  
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## "Food, Freedom and Faith"

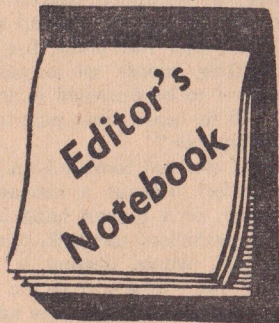
**FRIENDSHIP HOUSE** (Freundschafts-  
heim in German) has arranged an  
interesting course for September 1-29. The  
title is: Food, Freedom and Faith," and  
it will be conducted in English. The world  
problems of economics, politics and religion  
will be considered in four weeks, from the  
point of view of Africans, Asians, Ameri-  
cans and Europeans. Among the leaders  
will be E. W. and Asha Devi Aryanayakam  
from Gandhi's ashram at Sevagram, Samuel  
Karimi of Kenya, William Mensching and  
others. Full particulars may be had from  
William R. Hughes, 35, Doulling, Shepton  
Mallet, Somerset.

## Message of the play

I WAS impressed by the play "On the  
Frontier" when I saw it recently for the  
first time. Written in  
1938 by W. H.  
Auden and  
Christopher  
Isherwood, it  
seemed to be  
good strong  
meat for an  
audience of  
1958. I am not  
familiar  
enough with  
the play to  
know whether or not this was due to the  
fact that I saw it in an abridged form.

It was most excellently performed by an  
all-female cast drawn from the staff and  
pupils of Highbury Hill High School. The  
headmistress, retiring after 20 years at  
Highbury, said the play contained the  
message she would most like to leave  
behind her.

Government propaganda is still some-  
thing against which the citizenry must con-  
tend. This play is a help to him in the  
struggle.



of resolving this. He was writing authoritatively on these  
matters more than 30 years ago. He has  
now resumed the task in a compendious  
book which must establish itself as a stan-  
dard work on these questions. No one who  
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without it.

It is difficult in a short notice to indicate  
the immense sweep of the survey Mr. Noel-  
Baker has undertaken. A chapter on the  
growth of armaments goes back as far as  
1884; the detailed record of the more  
recent international negotiations for an  
arms treaty has a reference to March, 1958.  
Three whole sections are devoted to the  
pre-eminent problem of nuclear armaments  
and the effort to bring them under control.

A further section deals with other  
weapons of mass destruction—chemical,  
bacterial and incendiary—which are hardly  
less dangerous to mankind but tend to be  
overlooked, as do the so-called "conven-  
tional" weapons, in the perhaps undue con-  
centration today on nuclear arms. Beyond  
this a score of special problems are exam-

## Lecturing in the US

**ARCHBISHOP ROBERTS**, whose arti-  
cles in Peace News have been much  
appreciated by both Catholic and non-  
Catholic readers, is in the United States,  
and has recently been lecturing to gradu-  
ates at Gonzaga University, Spokane,  
Washington, on the subject of authority.

While there he organised a debate on the  
Commandment "Thou shalt not kill." Despite  
the controversial nature of the sub-  
ject (he had distributed 100 copies of "War  
and Peace," reprinted from Jubilee, the US  
Catholic magazine), the discussion was  
frank and wholly good-natured, he tells me.

When he returns, Archbishop Roberts  
will be reviewing an important new French  
publication, "Non-violence et Conscience  
Chrétienne." This is the first full-length  
Catholic study of non-violence in the  
Gospels and as practised by Gandhi.

## Pacifists elected

I AM sorry that our report of the Metho-  
dist Conference recently omitted the  
good news that the President Elect for 1959  
is the Rev. Eric Baker, Minister of Central  
Hall, Westminster. His Vice-President, as  
we reported, is Prof. Charles Coulson,  
another well-known pacifist, and chairman  
of the Toldas group.

The arms race must be stopped and  
stopped quickly if humanity is to survive;  
disarmament must be effected to "a grand  
design, an overall plan" (quoting Thomas  
K. Finletter) and to a radical and far-  
reaching degree, it can only be so effected  
by an internationally agreed and established  
system of reduction, abolition and control  
(there is not, I think, a single reference for  
or against to unilateral disarmament in the  
whole book), and given an adequate will to  
establish such a system there is no reason  
why it should not be achieved.

"The broad issues," says Philip Noel-  
Baker at the end of the book, "are quite  
simple; technical solutions will cause rela-  
tively little trouble when the political deci-  
sions have been made."

One may say "Amen" fervently to most  
of this, one may admire tremendously the  
singleness of mind and purpose of the  
author, and yet wonder if in this approach  
certain aspects of the problem are not dan-  
gerously under-estimated or disregarded  
altogether. It may be right to assume that  
the unilateral renunciation of armaments  
can make no contribution to the achieve-  
ment of a radical, universal disarmament,  
save possibly to make its realisation more  
difficult, though that will not deter those  
who think otherwise and in any case are  
committed by conviction to doing "the  
right thing" come what may.

It is certainly wise to insist that if we are  
to wait—as is sometimes suggested—for the  
solution of all or most of the major politi-  
cal problems other than disarmament  
before any agreed disarmament is possible,  
we shall wait for an arms treaty—literally  
—till doomsday. Getting an agreement to  
stop the arms race and to start purposeful  
disarmament is the No. 1 political—and  
moral—problem today.

But is it enough to assume that the only  
obstacle to success in this field is in some  
blindness of vision, or perversity of will or  
just plain lack of common sense? Are  
there not some imponderable factors to be  
faced—the ingrained fears and suspicions  
of the ultimate aims and intentions of the  
other side which dominate and vitiate the  
relations of the great powers of East and  
West today and render them unwilling to  
strip themselves of their "defences" how-  
ever spurious and illusory that "defence"  
may be? It is not enough to say that  
nothing would more powerfully reduce these  
fears and generate confidence all round  
than a solid disarmament agreement. But  
how to create the initial confidence without  
which the process—the grand design—can  
be set in train?

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## IN NIGERIA

The War Resisters' International now has  
a section in Nigeria, and membership is  
growing rapidly, reports the War Resister  
(1s. 3d. from Lansbury House, 88, Park  
Avenue, Enfield, Mddx., England). Total  
membership is about 185 and an Autumn  
Conference is to be held in Uyo. Fur-  
ther information may be had from Mr.  
C. A. O. Essien, Ibiaku Ikot Usen,  
Ibioni, Itu, Nigeria.

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# Congress leader on new White Paper THIS WILL PRESERVE WHITE DOMINATION

By ALAN LOVELL

THE constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia outlined in the Government's White Paper would preserve White domination and encourage racial antagonism, said Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President-General of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, at a Press conference in London on Monday.

The White Paper proposes that the new Legislative Council should have 30 members, consisting of eight elected Africans, 14 elected Europeans, six officials and two members nominated by the Governor. In order to qualify for the vote certain financial and property qualifications are necessary. These are so high, said Mr. Nkumbula that few Africans would be able to vote.

In view of the proposals Mr. Nkumbula thought that the Colonial Office was supporting white Northern Rhodesians against Africans. This was particularly important since the constitutional proposals would give the Whites the biggest say when Central African Federation was reviewed in 1960. And African opinion was absolutely opposed to Federation.

## "HANDS OFF THE MIDDLE EAST"

A CROWD of about two thousand people were in Trafalgar Square on Sunday for the "Hands Off the Middle East" meeting organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom. Before the meeting nearly five hundred people, including a large contingent of Arab students, marched from Hyde Park to the Square.

## IN PRISON SINCE 1948 French CO sentenced again

ANOTHER sentence of 16 months in jail has been given to a French conscientious objector. He is 30-year-old Edmond Schaguené, who has been in prison since 1948 for his refusal to join the army. This is his sixth or seventh sentence, at the end of each of which he has received a further sentence.

This latest sentence was at a military tribunal at Metz on July 11.

There is no legal provision for conscientious objection in France, the objectors remaining in jail until they are too old or too unfit to join the armed forces.

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## WOMEN WALK THROUGH LONDON

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

OUT of the twelve who carried "War—We Say No" posters from Dick Sheppard House to Marble Arch last Saturday, ten were women.

There was no less interest created by those twelve than if they had been twelve hundred for Oxford Street was thronged and people stopped to look, while many exhibited signs of approval.

One well-dressed woman called out: "I whole-heartedly agree with you," and a coach-load of soldiers waved and shouted: "So do we, so do we." The leaflet "Armed Intervention Could Mean War" was distributed.

Sybil Morrison, who led the two-mile walk and afterwards spoke in Hyde Park, told me that she was singing with what breath she had to spare:

The PPU calls out to you  
Join! Join!  
There's such a lot of work to do—  
Walk by our side today.  
Never going to fight  
'Cos it isn't right,  
We can live our life  
So there'll be no strife,  
Walk by our side today.

"I have always believed," she said, "that weariness when walking can be largely overcome by keeping a steady rhythm of pace, and nothing helps in that more than a good marching tune, even if it be only sung inside the head."

After Sybil Morrison had addressed a

## NON-VIOLENCE URGED IN PEACE CONGRESS

● FROM  
PAGE ONE

Sikhs and the Pathans—made the most successful non-violent fighters."

Mrs. Nehru told her listeners of the remarkable development of the Sarvodaya movement, led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, for the creation of a non-violent society, and of the efforts now afoot for the starting of a peace brigade.

Its duty would be to stop violence wherever it broke out, even at the risk of its members' lives.

"When this movement of the peace brigade gains momentum it may be taken up from the national to the international sphere."

This call from the platform encouraged believers in the efficacy of non-violent methods in delegations from Scandinavia, Switzerland, West Germany and elsewhere to state their points of view boldly in the work of the commissions, especially in the one concerned with the co-ordination and action of peace forces.

On the other hand, it stung the Chinese delegation to take up an uncompromising stand against pacifism. "Pacifism" a lead-

case, and because it may have led some to conclude that the pacifists who went to Stockholm were disappointed.

One of the most prominent of the advocates of non-violent methods, Mr. E. W. Aryanayakam, president of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, told me: "I found that the case for non-violence was listened to with much sympathy and interest. Its advocates have suffered from no inferiority complex; they raised their heads and spoke freely and boldly."

Mr. and Mrs. Aryanayakam were the authors of a declaration on the question of dynamic non-violence to which some 30 delegates put their names and which was incorporated in the official record of the Congress. It ran as follows:

1. The principles of non-violence as expressed by peaceful co-operation in all aspects of national and international life—political, social, economic and cultural—constitute one of the most effective ways for bringing about world peace and friendliness among groups and nations.

2. This is not a negative or passive programme but a positive and dynamic

Both Professor Fassbinder and Dr. Friedrich Ferber, of Mannheim, who were attending the congress as observers for the Fellowship for Reconciliation in Germany, were quite positive that their visit to Stockholm had been useful and fruitful.

"It has been highly useful," Dr. Ferber told me. "We have been able to meet people from all over the world, with many different attitudes. As Christians we have a mission to make ourselves heard even if we cannot hope to attain all our objectives."

I asked Dr. Ferber whether he had used the opportunity to speak to members of the Russian delegation.

He told me that he had obtained the signatures of Russian church leaders present to a declaration advancing the aims of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Finally, I should mention a speech delivered in plenary session by the elderly Finnish pacifist Mr. Felix Iversen. Thanking Mrs. Nehru for her words that the "road of non-violence is long, but it always leads to success," he called for the formation of an International Peace Army which would apply Gandhian methods in a non-violent



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"I have always believed," she said, "that weariness when walking can be largely overcome by keeping a steady rhythm of pace, and nothing helps in that more than a good marching tune, even if it be only sung inside the head."

After Sybil Morrison had addressed a large crowd for nearly an hour, Fred Moorhouse, assistant secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, dealt with many hecklers and achieved sticking to the point of the meeting in spite of them. Michael Randle, Chairman of the Pacifist Youth Action Group, followed, and at no time was there any falling off in the numbers of those who listened.

The message of pacifism was both seen and heard. Sybil Morrison says she will walk again on Bank Holiday Monday from four to five and asks: "Who will go with me?" (See Diary, page seven.)

**I**T is forty-four years since that fatal Bank Holiday Monday, August the Fourth, when the bugle call to the First World War fell upon the ears of an unaware, unperturbed Britain.

A few people only, in progressive and Left Wing circles, had been issuing warnings that a race in armaments with Germany must ultimately lead to a clash with that country; but the majority were, apparently, blissfully uninterested.

An assassination of some European Grand Duke was not an event in any way to alarm them; England was on holiday as usual, and the distant beating of the war-drums left its citizens unmoved.

It was not long, however, before it became clear that this was a different kind of war from the Imperialist wars of the past, fought by the Navy and Regular Army in far off countries. This was a war on Britain's own doorstep, and it appeared that the Regular Army could not meet the challenge alone.

The posters warning the participants in the Second World War that Hitler would "give no warning" were a negative appeal to fear, and bear no comparison with the compelling eyes and pointing finger of Kitchener, which shouted from every hoard-

members' lives.  
"When this movement of the peace brigade gains momentum it may be taken up from the national to the international sphere."

This call from the platform encouraged believers in the efficacy of non-violent methods in delegations from Scandinavia, Switzerland, West Germany and elsewhere to state their points of view boldly in the work of the commissions, especially in the one concerned with the co-ordination and action of peace forces.

On the other hand, it stung the Chinese delegation to take up an uncompromising stand against pacifism. "Pacifism," a leading representative of China told me in conversation, "pacifism is the greatest danger for Asia, for pacifism means submission. We must call on the peoples of Asia and Africa to hold their heads high and adopt the attitude of fighters. Otherwise they become the dupes of imperialism."

It was largely due to Chinese influence that the official record of the Congress failed to reflect fairly the degree to which the pacifist case influenced the discussions. This was doubly unfortunate because it tended to give the impression that discussions were narrower than was in fact the

and boldly." Mr. and Mrs. Aryanayakam were the authors of a declaration on the question of dynamic non-violence to which some 30 delegates put their names and which was incorporated in the official record of the Congress. It ran as follows:

1. The principles of non-violence as expressed by peaceful co-operation in all aspects of national and international life—political, social, economic and cultural—constitute one of the most effective ways for bringing about world peace and friendliness among groups and nations.

2. This is not a negative or passive programme but a positive and dynamic programme of resolving fear and mutual distrust and of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and co-operation.

3. It signifies meeting all forces of violence and situations of tension and conflict with a dynamic programme aimed at creating an atmosphere of goodwill among all nations, based on a programme of mutual service and co-operation.

4. This programme needs a group of dedicated life workers for peace and non-violence. This group may be called *volunteers for peace* or a *peace army*.

we cannot hope to attain all our objectives." I asked Dr. Ferber whether he had used the opportunity to speak to members of the Russian delegation.

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He referred to the dignified and successful struggle of the Negroes of Montgomery, to the classic examples of harmonious life and co-operation of the Quakers, and to the moral stature of Albert Schweitzer.

**It is a measure of the advance that advocates of non-violent methods have made in recent years that such views were listened to with respect even at a Congress where the great majority of people were not in sympathy with pacifist beliefs.**

**By Sybil Morrison**

## THE FATAL FOURTH

*If I come to die, in this inhuman strife,  
I grudge it not, if I, by laying down my life  
Do aught at all to bring a day of charity. . . .  
But . . . If all we who are slain, have died despite our hope,  
Only to twist again the old kaleidoscope—  
Why then, by God! we're sold!  
Cheated and wronged! betrayed!*

—Eliot Crawshaw-Williams, "A Soldier's Testament."

ing in 1914: "Your King and Country Need You!"

It was enough; that call was answered, and answered wholeheartedly and unhesitatingly. Boys in their first youth, men just starting their careers, rich and poor, clever and stupid, manual labourers and office workers, flocked to the recruiting stations, queued for hours, and marched away proud and happy that their names were registered as "soldiers of the King."

They did not think then, how one day their names would be registered on plaques and memorials, chapels and cenotaphs, as an everlasting symbol of their betrayal.

It may be that the statesmen and politicians, who had been resisting the idea of

German expansion, and concerned to show with Dreadnoughts the power that lay behind that resistance, were genuinely convinced that this would be the last war of all wars, but whether they believed it or not, it was the slogan which heralded in the slaughter of a whole generation.

The youth of Britain volunteered, and went to war in the proud certainty that they fought for a great ideal. Later, as they cowered and contended in the mud-churned, blood-saturated fields of France and Flanders, as they suffered and struggled, killed and died, they did not yet know themselves to be "cheated and wronged! Betrayed!"

But the world knows now. As it stands

today on the brink of yet another August the Fourth, as the darkness and shadow of a Third World War looms over the human race; as statesmen palaver and pontificate, its peoples cannot pretend not to know.

The time has come for the feeble and fumbling words of so-called leaders of nations to be drowned in such a shout that it will be heard from pole to pole: "War—We Say No."

No one can loose off an H-bomb, or fire a rocket without a human finger on the button, or a human hand upon the switch. The politicians can talk, but if the men and women, whose destiny is in their hands, say "No" to a war in the Middle East, or any other war, then those hands are tied and can no longer bring about the ruin of mankind.

Positive policies for peace will never spring from minds attuned to the ultimate use of war; the "day of charity" will come when people accept the bitter lesson of two world wars and refuse to "support or sanction another."

In the name of commonsense and decency let man take a stand against the folly and inhumanity of war, and so abolish its evil for ever.

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